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. . . A monthly report by the National Planning Association on forward-looking policy planning and research - announced, underway, and completed - of importance to the nation's future NEW HORIZONS for the UNITED NATIONS

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INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE of the ARMED FORCES

the people of NPA

New Horizons for the United Nations?

by J. D. Zellerbach

A member of NPA's board of trustees, Mr. Zellerbach is president of Crown Zellerbach Corporation and was U. S. alternate delegate to the United Nations General Assembly in 1953.

THE RECENT SIGNS of a possible thawing in the cold war pose both greater opportunities and responsibilities for the United Nations. And if we are indeed entering a new phase of international relations with genuine negotiations among the major powers, new horizons could open for the United Nations.

It is, of course, too early to tell whether the "new look" in Soviet policy is superficial or real. Experience dictates a healthy skepticism regarding current Soviet peaceful professions until we see more tangible evidence of communist willingness to negotiate just settlements of outstanding problems. Certainly we cannot afford to fall for a Soviet psychological maneuver which would lull the free world into a mood of false complacency. We cannot, and I am sure we will not relax our collective defense efforts-because the strength and unity of the free nations is our best guarantee of productive negotiations with the communist powers.

Yet, we may actually be on the threshold of such negotiations. The Soviet leaders, as realists, quite probably understand that a major war with thermonuclear weapons would be national suicide. Moreover, they must recognize that the free world economies can support indefinitely both a high rate of military preparedness and civilian prosperity - whereas the communist economies can support military strength only at the expense of indefinite civilian poverty. Consequently, the Soviet leaders may be prepared in their selfinterest to move toward a settlement in which both sides in the cold war would forego taking major military risks to achieve their

objectives.

The initial tests of Soviet intentions will come this month—at the meeting of the Big Four foreign ministers in Geneva, and at the 10th session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York. These meetings will enable us to test Soviet policy on specific problems.

Potentials

"...I think we can say of the potentials of television: that not even the sky is the limit. The potentials of television...are as big as the potentials of American society or a world society, and I do not feel like set-

ting a limit on that."

"...the role of television in our society is never going to be determined just by what we dowe in the industry...but by what the whole of society does ... we can help education, but we cannot be education. We can give the pulpit a wider range, but we cannot be religion. We can help the American home, but we cannot be parents. The true, proper function of television in our society is not to make a perfect world, or even a perfect District of Columbia, but to meet the world as we find it; to show it to itself warts and all; to make it better informed and hopefully happier, and to make it aspire.

From a talk by Frank Stanton, president of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., on "The role of television in our society," to the 33rd Annual National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters Convention in Washington, D. C., May 1955.



(continued on page 2)

AT GENEVA, we will see if the Soviet Union is now prepared to accept German unification on terms which would promise the German people a free and democratic future, and which would safeguard Western Europe from aggression from any quarter. But Soviet policy on Germany seems as intransigent as ever, and it would not be surprising if the foreign ministers make little headway. For the German problem involves a heritage of political commitments and risks of power balancing on both sides which make it intrinsically difficult to resolve.

Under such circumstances, the United Nations may provide the first important test of Soviet sincerity. That test could come on the disarmament problem which was referred back to the United Nations by the Big Four heads of government at their July meeting in Geneva. The United Nations subcommittee on disarmament has resumed its efforts to bridge the differences between the Soviet Union and the Western powers, and the whole disarmament situation is likely to come into the General Assembly.

There are some indications that disarmament may offer one of the first fruitful fields for negotiation, if the Soviet Union is really prepared to move toward a settlement. The United States already has injected considerable flexibility into the long stalemated disarmament situation-both by a series of new proposals since 1951, and by its demonstrated willingness to negotiate on the merits of proposed solutions instead of holding rigidly to predetermined positions. Greater American ingenuity and flexibility have been coupled with President Eisenhower's two dramatic proposals which received worldwide acclaim -his atoms for peace plan at the United Nations in 1953, and his recent proposal at Geneva for an exchange of blueprints of Soviet and American military establishments and for aerial reconnaissance.

Under these circumstances, it has become increasingly difficult for the Soviet Union to stand pat with its traditional negative disarmament policy. In fact, there have been some signs of possible flexibility in Soviet policy on armament. Last May, for example, the Soviet Union moved away from its traditional insistence on a percentile cut in the armed forces of the major powers—which would have perpetuated its numerical advantage—toward the Western concept of numerical ceilings on such forces. But, of course, the true test of Soviet flexibility on disarmament involves the key

problem of an adequate international inspection system. This test has been put to the Soviet Union by the President's proposal for exchanging and verifying military information, and it constitutes the central issue in the United Nations disarmament discussions. Consequently, the Soviet response to the President's proposal at the United Nations may well be the first significant indication whether the Soviet Union is willing to move toward a cold war settlement.

Soviet acceptance of the President's propos al could open the way to real progress in abating present tensions. It could bring about progressive disclosure and verification--by aerial and ground observers -- of military developments, so that neither the Soviet Union nor the United States could mobilize secretly for a major attack. This would be a major step forward from the Soviet "paper pledge" approach to disarmament-for we could trust the reports of our observers in the Soviet Union. Such a system of military disclosure and verification, as it spread to other major powers, could well lead to a generally increased sense of security which would facilitate the solution of other difficult international problems.

This opportunity in the disarmament field, with its vast implications, poses heavy responsibilities on the members of the United Nations. The free nations must not sacrifice essential safeguards simply for the sake of reaching an agreement with the Soviet Union. Indeed, there is no need to compromise on principle, for if the Soviet Union really wants to lighten its crushing arms burden, its self-interests will dictate a disarmament system which safeguards all its participants.

We will not, of course, have reached the millenium if the Soviet Union cooperates in bringing about a settlement in which both sides forego major military risks in seeking to achieve their objectives. Vigorous competition between the free and communist worlds is likely to continue indefinitely, even after the arms are stacked. The significant and happy difference would be that such competition would involve primarily political and economic, rather than military, means.

S UCH "competitive co-existence" would also pose greater opportunities and responsibilities for the United Nations. The communist nations could be expected to intensify their efforts to attract the presently "uncommitted" peoples—especially in Asia and Africa. And we would have to intensify our own efforts to

help such peoples resist being lured into the communist camp, for we could not long remain free if the great populations and vast potential of Asia and Africa became communist assets.

The issues involved in such political and economic competition over the uncommitted peoples are likely to continue to be focused most sharply within the United Nations. They involve two primary problems for us: colonialism, and economic development. Both have been United Nations perennials, and both are

becoming more acute every year.

The historical identification of the Western powers with colonialism, and such turbulent situations as Indo-China and French North Africa, have made us extremely vulnerable in the eyes of many uncommitted peoples. Yet, there is a growing recognition in the Asian world, as evidenced by the Bandung Conference, that the communist powers pose a far greater danger of enslaving weaker nations than the West. But the West must demonstrate its ability to bring about self-government and independence in still dependent areas, and to deal with newly independent nations on the basis of sovereign equality. These are likely to be among our principle tasks -- both inside and outside the United Nations -- over the years ahead.

At the same time, we shall have to face into the problem of the economic development of underdeveloped countries. The rising "revolution of expectations" throughout the non-industrialized world will not be denied--these peoples are determined to better themselves economically, one way or another. Our only choice is whether we shall help them achieve economic development within an expanded free world, or risk the danger of hundreds of millions of impoverished peoples sliding toward

communism by default.

We and other United Nations members have already provided considerable help through technical assistance and other foreign aid programs. Moreover, President Eisenhower has pledged the United States in the United Nations to devote a portion of its savings from safeguarded disarmament to economic development. In the meantime, the United Nations has sought to facilitate greater private investment abroad by such means as the newly-created International Finance Corporation. But the major industrial nations must findways of still further increasing the flow of capital investment to the underdeveloped areas in the years ahead.

These three problems-disarmament, colonialism, and economic development-are perhaps the most challenging opportunities for the United Nations in the foreseeable future. The United Nations is capable of exerting much constructive influence on these and similar problems. But whether it does so or not is primarily up to us—for we have the major political influence and economic resources essential to these tasks. Thus the question of whether new and promising horizons will open up for the United Nations depends in large part on how resourcefully and courageously the United States can use the United Nations as a primary instrument in our foreign policy.

If we apply our undeniable skills and resources to the job ahead, the United Nations can become an increasingly effective means for promoting the cause of human freedom and well-being over expanded areas of the world. And this, in turn, would contribute greatly to the realization of our own foreign policy

objectives.

World Agriculture Conference

James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union, and member of NPA's board of trustees and Agriculture Committee, attended the 8th annual meeting of the International Federation of Agriculture Producers which met in Rome, September 9-17.

The IFAP of which Mr. Patton is an executive committee member is a nongovernmental organization formed in 1946. It has consultative status with the United Nations and represents farm groups from 28 countries.

U. S. Firms Abroad

APPROXIMATELY 2000 American corporations which control or operate businesses abroad are listed in a new volume, the "1955-56 Directory of American Firms Operating in Foreign Countries" by J. L. Angel.

The companies included—book value of which is more than \$16,200,000,000—operate more than 7500 foreign business entities, one-fourth of which are branches or proprietorships, the remainder being enterprises incorporated

abroad.

The directory lists firms by geographical distribution and also by alphabetical index, showing the U.S. business address of each, president of the company, and where possible, the name of the officer in charge of foreign operations.

(From: World Trade Academy Press, Inc., 11 West 42nd St., N.Y. 36. 114 pp. \$8.50)

—the people of NPA —



James

Carey

An NPA trustee and Labor Committee member since 1942, James B. Carey rose early and quickly from the rank and file to the top echelon of the American labor movement. An ardent scrapper against communism and for the protection of civil rights, he has displayed as well a zest for international affairs, actively working toward the development of greater solidarity of European trade unions and increased cooperation between them and their American counterparts. Now president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers and secretary-treasurer of the CIO, Mr. Carey launched his union career with his first fulltime job at the Philco radio laboratory in Philadelphia, where he organized Federal Union 18368. During 1933, at the first convention of local unions in the radio and electrical industry, Mr. Carey--at the age of 22-was elected national president and a delegate to the American Federation of Labor. When the convention of the United Electrical and Radio Workers assembled less than three years later he was elected president. In 1938, after the union had become affiliated with the CIO, he was elected secretary of the national organization, and has been secretary-treasurer since 1942.. He was active on the joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee, which negotiated the merger, and served on the six-man subcommittee appointed to work out the details. Mr. Carey has been American labor's spokesman at meetings of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and has assumed leadership in the civil rights sphere both in the CIO and on former President Truman's Commission on Civil Rights.

Analysis Techniques for Development Programs

WHEN ECONOMISTS draw up a plan to develop the potentials of an underdeveloped country, they require some sort of methodical scheme of preliminary analysis. Some of these "approach" techniques, less familiar to the non-economist, are explained in a recent UN publication prepared by the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA).

An economic development program, the study points out, does not necessitate rigid state control, but may be put into effect under a system which leaves broad freedom to private enterprise and initiative, the state using as tools, "fiscal and tariff, monetary and credit policies, and domestic and foreign loans..."

The ECLA report analyzes a three phase approach to preliminary economic programming in an underdeveloped country, emphasizing that the objective is to raise the level of per capita income.

First, the economist must diagnose the fundamental, dynamic elements in the economy and calculate the probable future course of these basic forces. This means, according to the report, that the desired rate of growth for the economy as a whole must be determined and next, what volume of investment will be required to produce this growth rate.

Second, when the over-all development capacity has been projected, a study of industry, sector by sector, may be made and priorities assigned out of the total fund of investment capital presumed available.

Third, figures on production and investment in the various sectors of the economy will be compared with the aggregate projections and proper adjustments and corrections made.

B ASIC to this technique of planning is the assumption that the "target for per capita income growth determines the form and intensity with which the sector-by-sector expansion of demand can be forecast." For this reason the study calls for consideration of the aggregate national development first. If specific development projects or sector programming is attempted without reference to the over-all picture it may well be, the report states, that while these specific projects could be economically rèwarding, the country as a whole will fail to reach the highest attainable growth rate.

An examination is made of the factors which determine growth of national incomes -- the in-

vestment rate and the average productivity of capital or product-capital ratio which is "the relation which exists over a given period between the net national product, or national income and the capital which has participated in production."

Problems and alternative solutions involved in raising the domestic savings rate and effects of foreign demand are explored. One section of the report discusses specifically, general projections arising from experience in Latin American development projects, and a final chapter takes up what we have called the second phase of preliminary analysis -- planning for separate branches or sectors of the economy.

ECLA studies on the work of economic programming being carried out in Colombia, Chile, and Brazil are to be published in the near future. (Analyses and Projections of Economic Development. I. An Introduction to the Technique of Programming. From: Columbia University Press. N.Y. 27. 1955. 52 pp. 50¢)

Conference on Business Education

ANTICIPATED expansion of college enroll-ments in the next decade calls for immediate efforts to be made if teaching staff and facilities are to be adequate. The difficulties which must be tackled in the field of business education will be examined at a Conference on Professional Education for Business to be held at Arden House, Columbia University October 27-29.

Thomas L. Norton, former president of the American Association of Collegiate Schools of Business which is sponsoring the conference, says in his introduction to a committee report on Faculty Requirements and Faculty Supply in Collegiate Business Teaching, something is done now, the quality of instruction will deteriorate with unfortunate and tragic consequences for American business."

The conference, which has been given a \$25,000 grant by the Ford Foundation, will have about 70 participants from education, business, and the major foundations. Round table groups will discuss student enrollment, faculty requirements, doctoral programs, impact of potential changes in the American economy on educational development of teachers of business administration, and the competitive position of collegiate teaching careers in business administration.

National Statistical Systems

OW GOVERNMENTS should proceed in establishing a national statistical program is the subject of the recent United Nations "Handbook of Statistical Organization." The handbook is designed to meet the growing demand by many governments for assistance in developing and improving their national statistical series. It is based largely on selected papers presented in 1952 at a UN sponsored International Seminar on Statistical Organization.

In order to develop a statistical program which can meet the particular needs of a country, says the UN publication, the statistical organization responsible for the success of this program must be adapted to the country's economy and reflect its stages of development as well as its institutional structure. Consideration must be given not only to the comparative effectiveness of different types of statistical systems -- decentralization or centralization of statistical activities -- but also to the problems of providing the proper legal measures for establishing such a system (e.g. need for mandatory legislation governing the collection and publication of statistical material.)

Without becoming too involved in the technical aspects of statistical techniques, or of specific subject matter fields, such as classifications and definitions for population, production and income, the UN pamphlet concentrates on a general discussion of the problems of statistical organization. It examines some of the difficulties which arise in trying to create a national statistical organization which can function effectively and which will meet the statistical needs of the particular country. The handbook explores such topics as methods and categories of data collection, data processing and publication, budget planning (e.g. mapping out the scope of statistical activities), cost control of statistical operations, and the selection and training of qualified personnel.

Also of interest are Appendix A of the handbook which presents a general descriptive outline of seven typical national statistical systems--Brazil, Canada, France, India, Japan, United Kingdom, and the United States-and Appendix B, which presents graphic illustrations showing the organizational structure for a number of selected countries. ("Handbook of Statistical Organization, " Studies in Methods, Series F, No. 6, December 1954. From: Columbia University Press, N.Y. 27. 138 pp. \$1.50)

Productive Nuclear Energy—The Geneva Conference

by Philip Mullenbach

Staff Director of NPA's Atomic Energy Project, Mr. Mullenbach participated in the preparation of two economic papers for the Conference and attended the Conference, August 8-20, 1955, as an accredited observer. Following the Conference, he conferred with representatives of the Economic Commission for Europe (Geneva), Organization for European Economic Cooperation (Paris), the High Authority of the Coal and Steel Community (Luxembourg), and experts in Denmark and the U. K. concerning energy prospects in Europe.

Many Observers came away from Geneva with the exhilarating feeling that nuclear energy had entered a new, hopeful era for the welfare of mankind. The purpose of the scientific conference had been accomplished. By common agreement, this meant that hundreds of technical papers had been presented by scores of nations without the intrusion of political considerations or incidents.

The essential meaning of the Conference was also clear: international scientific communication had been reestablished, not without restrictions but with sufficient freedom as to hold promise for the future. The tragic period following World War II when the cold war confined the atom almost exclusively to national military objectives seemed to be ending.

For the scientist, the renewed exchange of information confirmed his preconception that a high degree of basic scientific knowledge is enjoyed in common. To the engineer and technician, the exchange of information revealed the obvious differences between the technical capacity in nuclear energy of a few countries (the U.S., U.K., Canada and the U.S.S.R.) as against all the others. To the diplomat or statesman assessing the potential strength of nations, it was clear that the nuclear energy program of the U.S.S.R. is large, developing rapidly, and while still in the "catching-up" stage, is not so far behind our U.S. program as to be viewed complacently.

To the economist, the Conference provided a regional and world view of prospective energy requirements in the light of a new energy source. Energy requirements to 1975 and 2000, world-wide and by countries, were the ambitious subject of the first three days' papers. They indicated that requirements for all forms of energy are likely to continue rising at a substantial rate; by 1975, annual needs may be

two or three times the 1952 level, and by 2000, perhaps four to six times. Electric power requirements are growing still more rapidly, in some countries doubling in six to twelve years. Geographic variations in growth rates are large.

N ECONOMIC GROUNDS the main cases of country urgency and necessity for a new power source seemed to be Japan, the United Kingdom, and Western Europe. For these regions—all outside the Iron Curtain—the problems of fuel cost and supply are beginning to cause strain; "the early 1960's" is generally accepted as the time by which economic central station nuclear power plants will be needed in order to supplement conventional thermal or hydroelectric power. Some of the coal-based economies have given up hope of increasing coal output to meet the rapid growth in power needs. Certain industrial economies in Europe also foresee early limits on the economically available hydroelectric potential. Petroleum is expected to have a key role during the next 10-20 years in the world power situation. Fuel oil will, until nuclear power is available, be utilized by many energy-deficit economies to fill the early gap between mounting power needs and diminishing indigenous energy resources. To rely heavily on oil for the long run, however, is viewed by energy analysts of these countries as imprudent national policy, for strategic and economic reasons.

There are large areas of the world, however, notably the U.S., where the economic need for nuclear power is deferred for a time by ample sources of energy. For these, nuclear fuel is viewed as "safeguarding the future" of energy supply and costs. There was no consensus among economists as to the probable contribution of nuclear power in underdeveloped areas. The more optimistic observers believed the benefits might be significant because fuel costs are frequently very high and power is often lacking. Others believed that the backward areas would have difficulty in developing the necessary technical base and, because of the scarcity of capital and other factors, would be long in securing nuclear power. Some felt that the underdeveloped areas might be disappointed in and, indeed, hurt by premature investment of resources in nuclear energy. Industrial

economies clearly are in a far better position to undertake early application.

HE RESULTS of the Conference should have an impact on several near-term aspects of nuclear energy including, for example, the classification of reactor technology, UN consideration of an international atomic energy agency, and the U.S. policy of bilateral research agreements. Attendance at the Conference provided a new perspective on each of these.

The technical data presented at the Conference was so extensive that one wonders what information on civilian power reactors still requires classification for reasons of national security. The content of the papers seemed to support the judgment, expressed by a leading American scientist in advance of the Conference, that the area of civilian power reactor technology could now be safely declassified. One implication of such action might be to raise the thorny question of separating the administrative responsibility for military and civilian applications of nuclear energy in the U.S.

The economic need for regional and international organizations for developing nuclear energy was a subject of personal interest on which I made inquiry in Europe during and after the Conference. The need for joint effort evidently exists in Western Europe. Few nations have the resources in funds, materials, facilities or technical manpower sufficient to establish an integrated program of nuclear power development and production. Many nations are incapable of proceeding alone. All would benefit by joining their special talents and

proceeding together.

A few days ago the U.S. submitted to the United Nations a draft statute for an international atomic energy agency. Determining the appropriate function for the agency promises to be an intriguing problem. At Geneva it appeared that the leading nations, while accepting the desirability of such an agency as an information and materials control device, may prefer to promote development of nuclear energy through bilateral rather than multilateral arrangements. The present course of policy pursued by the U.S., U.K. and the U.S.S.R. seems to emphasize the bilateral approach. Ablending, or reconciliation, of bilateral policy with international arrangements is needed. Equally important, the Conference indicated that the needs and expectations of many countries, especially those in Europe, are focused on nuclear power reactors and technology. The U.S. policy of making research reactors and information available under research bilaterals has been successful; yet the needs of several countries go beyond this limited scope.

B RIEFLY, the Conference helped identify the economic importance of a new energy source, its urgency, and where its contribution is needed most. It also revealed the relative technical capabilities of various countries in this field, and the basic knowledge common to all. The issue now is whether nations will choose the course of cooperative action, regionally and internationally, or will continue pursuing the separate routes of the post-war

At the Conference one felt the universality of atomic energy acting as a unifying, rather than a dividing, factor in international relations. A hopeful analogy is suggested between the binding force of the nucleus of the atom and the potential influence of nuclear energy on

future world affairs.

Armed Forces Industrial College

I NSIDE THE GATES of Fort Lesley J. McNair in Washington are true of the less of the state of the less of the state of the less of the les in Washington are two of America's top Defense Department schools. One is the National War College, a center for military studies. The other is the 31-year-old Industrial College where senior military officers and selected civilians from Government and industry learn the complex facts of civilian life and economy. It is the only school in the Department of Defense devoted exclusively to a study of the nation's economic resources and strength.

The Industrial College, formerly called the Army Industrial College, was founded shortly after the first World War had proved that modern military efforts require large scale mobilization of all the economic resources of the nation and that those in top command and planning posts should be prepared to take on their responsibilities with an adequate understanding of the military-economic interrelationships.

President Eisenhower, who himself was once enrolled at the Industrial College, has said that it renders a "vital service to the very

safety of our nation."

During the ten month resident course, ambassadors, cabinet ministers, labor leaders, and corporation presidents-men outstanding in their fields-are brought into the program along with the regular college faculty to share their knowledge and experience.

The program is broad. For example, utilization of men and material in the American economic system is examined. The approach to problems of manpower involves factors of health, education, living standards, and public opinion. Also, the quantity and quality of the labor force--elements of age, sex, physical aptitude, and mobility--and problems of management and manpower controls are probed.

Reserves of natural resources and energy potentials are measured, as well as the capacity of our transport and communications systems to support the peacetime needs of our civilization and to extend themselves during wartime mobilization. The study scrutinizes comparative advantages and specialized functions of different means of conveyance—motor, rail, air, inland waterway, pipelines, and coastal shipping. Agriculture, technology, and science are inspected in the light of national security needs.

In all fields there is an evaluation of what we have, what probably will be the development trends, what can be accomplished, and how the elements of U.S. economic life are interrelated with those of world politics and economics.

Approximately 135 selected individuals take the regular resident course at Fort McNair. The Industrial College also offers a correspondence course on "Emergency Management of the National Economy" and conducts an annual series of National Resources Conferences in various U.S. cities covering in briefer form the general material of the resident course. These two-week conferences, to be held this year in 16 American cities, are co-sponsored by local citizens' groups such as the Chamber

of Commerce and are directed by staff members from the Industrial College.

On the 1955 board of advisers to the Industrial College were J. Carlton Ward, Jr., of NPA's Business Committee and three National Council members, James Creese, Alexander R. Heron, and Walter W. Knorpp.

Staff Authors of NPA Nuclear Study

The first of NPA's reports on the Productive Uses of Nuclear Energy, "Energy Requirements and Economic Growth" written by Dean Edward S. Mason of Harvard University in collaboration with NPA staff members was reported in the September issue of "Looking Ahead." The names of staff authors working on this study, however, have not previously been announced.

They include Philip Mullenbach, director of research for the NPA nuclear energy project; Sam J. Van Hyning, economist for the international studies; George Perazich, engineer; and Perry Teitelbaum, statistician.

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